## Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 105877 TOSEC 040116

FOR CARTER FRO'PA

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

- 1. HEREWITH FULL TEXT DESPATCH BY DAVID E. WILLIS MOSCOW STAFF CORRESPONDENT OF THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR MAY 9 HEADED "PLUSES AND MINUSES FOR NEW ARMS TALKS."
- 2. BOTH POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE SIGNS ARE EMERGING HERE FOR PROGRESS ON THE CENTRAL ISSUE OF DETENTE -- STRATEGIC ARMS CONTROL -- WHEN U.S.-SOVIET TALKS RESUME IN GENEVA MAY 18.
- 3. NEITHER SOVIET NOR WESTERN SOURCES HERE EXPECT ANY FUNDAMENTAL AGREEMENT. BOTH SAY THE MORE AMBIUNCLASSIFIED

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TIOUS OF THE TWO PROPOSALS PRESENTED BY U.S. NEGOTIATORS IN MOSCOW MARCH 28 (CALLING FOR DEEP CUTS) HAS NO HOPE OF SURVIVING.

4. THE ISSUE IS WHETHER SOME PROGRESS CAN COME ON ACCEPTING PREVIOUSLY AGREED-ON ARMS LEVELS AND SOLVING THE ISSUES OF THE U.S. CRUISE MISSILE (WHICH THE

SOVIETS WANT INCLUDED) AND THE SOVIET BACKFIRE BOMBER (WHICH THEY DO NOT).

- 5. THE STAKES ARE ENORMOUS. THE SOVIET VIEW IS THAT PROGRESS IS NECESSARY IF THE CURRENT ACROSS-THE-BOARD COOLNESS IN RELATIONS WITH WASHINGTON IS TO BEGIN TO MELT.
- 6. THE COMING REVIEW IN BELGRADE OF OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND OTHER ISSUES SET OUT IN THE FINAL ACT OF THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE ON EUROPEAN SECURITY, DIPLOMATS SAY, MEANS HUMAN RIGHTS WILL REMAIN ON THE FRONT PAGE OF THE WORLD'S ATTENTION FOR THE REST OF THE YEAR. AND THIS WILL FORCE MOSCOW TO REACT CONSTANTLY AND DEFENSIVELY
- 7. ARMS PROGRESS WOULD BE THE ONE WAY TO OFFSET SUCH CONTINUING FRICTION, IT IS ARGUED.
- 8. AS GLEANED FROM SOVIET SOURCES, SOVIET PUBLICATIONS, AND WESTERN ANALYSTS IN RECENT DAYS, HERE ARE BOTH POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE CASES FOR GENEVA:
- 9. -- POSITIVE:
- $10.\,$  (1) THE ATMOSPHERE SURROUNDING THE TALKS APPEARS TO HAVE IMPROVED.
- 11. PRESIDENT CARTER HAS BEEN QUIET ON SOVIET DISSI-UNCLASSIFIED

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DENTS. SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS VANCE'S APRIL 30 SPEECH IN ATHENS, GEORGIA, ON HUMAN RIGHTS SOUNDED CAREFUL AND CALM. SOVIET SOURCES HERE UNDERSCORE TO THIS NEWSPAPER THE IMPORTANCE OF THE STATEMENT MADE IN NEW YORK BY LATIF MAKSOUDOV, CHIEF OF THE INFORMATION DEPARTMENT OF THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTRY, ON APRIL 27. MR. MAKSOUDOV SAID IT WAS A FAVORABLE SIGN THAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAD MORE OR LESS STOPPED TALKING ABOUT SOVIET DISSIDENTS.

- 12. NOR HAS MOSCOW MOVED AHEAD WITH TRIALS OF DISSIDENTS NOW UNDER ARREST.
- 13. (2) DESPITE MR. VANCE'S MAY 4 WARNING THAT ARMS POSITIONS HAD NOT CHANGED, THE TWO SIDES HAVE BEEN IN REGULAR TOUCH SINCE THE IMPASSE REACHED IN THE MOSCOW TALKS OF MARCH 28-30. LOWER-LEVEL TALKS OPEN IN GENEVA MAY 11.

14. (3) IF THE SOVIETS INSIST THAT ONLY WASHINGTON MAKE CONCESSIONS, THEY RUN THE RISK OF BEING SEEN AS THE PASSIVE PARTNER IN THE TALKS.

## 15. -- NEGATIVE:

- 16. (1) A 1,U00 WORD EDITORIAL IN PRAVDA, THE COMMUNIST PARTY NEWSPAPER, ACCUSED MR. CARTER OF PLAYING POLITICS WITH ARMS CONTROL. IT SAID WASHINGTON WAS GUILTY OF GENERALIZED AND ABSOLUTELY UNREALISTIC PROPOSALS THAT WERE DEEPLY ALIEN TO MOSCOW.
- 17. THE EDITORIAL WAS SEEN HERE AS A DIPLOMATIC SHOT ACROSS AMERICAN BOWS AS GENEVA APPROACHES -- A REMINDER THAT FROM THE KREMLIN'S POINT OF VIEW WASHINGTON HAS PROPOSED ONE-SIDED ADVANTAGES AND HAS UPSET AND OFFENDED THE SOVIET UNION.
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- 18. (2) IT MAY WELL BE TOO SOON AFTER THE MOSCOW IMPASSE TO EXPECT SOVIET PRIDE TO HAVE HEALED SUFFICIENTLY. SOVIET SOURCES HAVE INDICATED PRIVATELY THAT, ALTHOUGH THEY HOPE FOR PROGRESS, IT IS UP TO THE UNITED STATES TO BREAK THE STALEMATE BY AGREEING TO LIMIT CRUISE MISSILES.
- 19. (3) SOVIET SOURCES HAVE SAID THERE HAS BEEN NO PROGRESS IN CONTACTS WITH WASHINGTON SINCE THE TALKS IN MOSCOW. THE CENTRAL PRESS SHOWS LITTLE SIGN OF CHANGING ITS NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD WASHINGTON.
- 20. IN THE WIDER CONTEXT, THE SOVIETS HAVE LODGED THREE FORMAL COMPLAINTS WITH THE U.S. EMBASSY HERE IN FOUR WEEKS AGAINST THE SHOWING OF THE FILM "DR. ZHIVAGO" IN THE APARTMENTS OF U.S. DIPLOMATS; AGAINST MR. CARTER'S SUPPORT FOR RADIO LIBERTY AND RADIO FREE EUROPE; AND AGAINST THE U.S. REFUSAL OF VISAS FOR A SOVIET TRADE UNION DELEGATION TO VISIT THE UNITED STATES.
- 21. THESE ARE THOUGHT HERE TO BE MAINLY A PRELUDE TO STRONG SOVIET ATTACKS ON THE WEST IN GENERAL AT THE BELGRADE MEETING.
- 22. MEANWHILE, THE SOVIETS HAVE RENEWED ALLEGATIONS OF SPYING AGAINST ONE DIPLOMAT STILL SERVING IN THE U.S. EMBASSY HERE. HE IS JOSEPH PRESEL, WHO WATCHES THE DISSIDENT SCENE.

23. IN A RARE TEA TALK TO THREE FOREIGN NEWSMEN MAY 6, FORMER DISSIDENT SANYA LIPAVSKY ALSO REPEATED CHARGES THAT WASHIGNTON POST CORRESPONDENT PETER OSNOS WAS ACTING AS A GO-BETWEEN FOR THE EMBASSY AND DISSIDENTS. UNCLASSIFIED

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24. IT IS SUSPECTED THAT MR. PRESEL MAY BE FORCED TO LEAVE MOSCOW SOON. IT IS ALSO SPECULATED THAT MR. LIPAVSKY MIGHT TESTIFY AT THE EVENTUAL TRIAL OF WELL-KNOWN DISSIDENT ANATOLY SHCHARANSKY, WHO IS STILL IN JAIL. MR. OSNOS LEAVES MOSCOW FOR A NEW ASSIGNMENT IN JUNE. END TEXT. CHRISTOPHER

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